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## XXIV.—A CLASSIFICATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF “OGIER LE DANOIS.”<sup>1</sup>

### I.

The sole edition of the *chanson de geste* “Ogier le Danois,” generally attributed to Raimbert de Paris, is that of J. Barrois, Paris, 1842, and bears the title: “La Chevalerie Ogier de Danemarche.” This edition makes no pretence to critical accuracy.

### II.

The known mss. containing this poem are:

B: now in the library of Tours (No. 938); cf. Barrois, edition, pp. liii-liv. P. Meyer (*Documents Manuscrits de l'ancienne Littérature de la France conservés dans les Bibliothèques de la Grande-Bretagne*, Paris, 1871, p. 86, N. 3) dates this ms. in the thirteenth century. B forms the basis of Barrois's edition.

A: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 24403 (La Vallière, 78); dated by P. Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 86) in the last years of the thirteenth century. This ms. was used by Barrois along with B; cf. edition, pp. liv-lv.

M: Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Médecine, No. 247. See *Catalogue des mss. des Bibliothèques des Départements*, I, pp. 377-9. This ms. is dated by P. Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 86) in the fourteenth century.

D: Durham, Library of Bishop Cosin, V. II, 17; dated by P. Meyer (*op. cit.*, p. 86) at about the same time as B.

P: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 1583 (*anc. 7608-3*); written

<sup>1</sup> The material for this paper is drawn from a dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Harvard University (1908). The writer, who is preparing a critical edition of *Ogier le Danois*, desires to thank Professor Sheldon and Professor Grandgent of Harvard for their sympathetic encouragement.

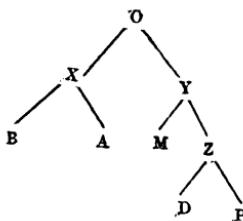
in the fifteenth century (P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 86). This ms. really contains two poems: the song attributed to Raimbert and a continuation. The scribe of P had in mind the continuation while copying the older song, as may be seen from certain verses introduced in anticipation of the continuation: f. 25 verso, first col., vv. 11-13 (interpolated after the verse corresponding to v. 3073 of the edition), f. 77 verso, second col., vv. 3-16 (after the verse corresponding to v. 9911 of the edition).

A ms. of the British Museum (Royal 15 E VI) is wrongly added by Groeber (*Grundriss*, II, p. 547, N. 7), to the mss. containing our poem (see Ward, *Catalogue of Romances, etc.*, I, 604 ff.; Barrois, edition, pp. lxii ff.).

In referring to the mss. I give folio, column (a, b = recto; c, d = verso) and verse. In the case of B, for the convenience of the reader I usually give only the corresponding verse of the edition, correcting wherever necessary.

### III.

It has been found that the mss. are to be grouped as follows:



I quote a few of the many passages which show this classification to be exact:

For vv. 762-776 of the edition, M (91 c 12-21) reads as follows:

“ . . . De chele ensengne me vois trop merveillant:  
 Hui matinet l'en vi tourner fuiant;  
 Or la nous as raportee ens u camp.  
 Fet nous i as .i. damage si grant,

Les vos resqueus et des nos ochis tant,  
 Ni a cheli qui du gaaing se vant.”  
 Respong Ogier: “Je vous en dirai tant  
 Que faus seres se m'en queres avant:  
 Prison sui Kall. l'empereor puissant;  
 De Danemarche fu amene l'autre an . . .”

For these verses, D (60 a 28-37) reads:

“. . . De cele enseigne me vois molt mervellant:  
 Hui matinet l'en vi tourner fuiant;  
 Or le nous a reportee ens el camp.  
 Mors a nos homes et desconfis el camp,  
 Ni a celui qui de gaaing s'en vant.  
 Comment as non? Ne me celes noient.”  
 “Voir,” dist Ogier, “Jou t'en dirai itant  
 Que pour noient m'en querroies avant:  
 Non ai Ogier, par Dieu le Raiemant,  
 Fieus sui Gaufroi ou Danemarche apent . . .”

Unhappily P is here in very bad condition, but what remains shows that P agrees with D wherever D differs from M. P contained the verses in D beginning with “Comment” and “Voir,” and the last two verses of P, 8 d 15-16 (cf. D), are:

“. . . J'ay nom Ogier, saiches certainement;  
 Filz sui Gauf. qui Danemarche apent . . .”

A has practically the same reading as B.

After v. 1488, M (94 c 4-5) reads:

“. . . Poy priseroie en moi le vasselage  
 S'a tel garchon avoie pris bataille.”

DP have these two verses, and between them introduce this third verse:

“. . . Jamais honor n'avroie en mon eage . . .” D 64 a 39, cf.  
 P 14 a 3.

After v. 2790, MDP add:

“... Par Mahommet molt es biau chevaliers:  
De toi ochirre me prent grant pities.” M 100 a 12-13.

DP add to these two the following verse:

“... Quant t'arai mort si en serai iries.” D 72 c 9, cf.  
P 23 c. 26.

The beginning of the second canto (vv. 3103 ff.) is quite different in the two versions X and Y. A offers only slight variations from B as printed in the edition. DP, with the exception of a few words, agree with M. M (101 a 42 ff., cf. D 73 + a 28 ff., P 25 d 1 ff.) reads as follows:

Oes, segnors, que Dex vous puist aidier,  
Le glorieus qui tout a a jugier.  
Oi aves des enfanches Ogier,  
Le fix Gaufrroi qui tant fist a proisier:  
Onques son pere ne le pot avoir chier,  
Quar chen feisoit sa desloial moullier;  
Envers Kallon le fist forstagier  
Si que le roi li vout le chief trenchier,  
Ardoir en fu ou en iauue noier  
Quant l'en proia la roine au vis fier,  
Maint duc, maint conte, maint baron chevalier,  
Ensorquetout Dunaimez de Bavier:  
Kall. alerent le cordouen baisier;  
Tant li proierent pour Dieu le droiturier  
Que de la mort respiterent Ogier  
Et a Kallon le firent apaier.  
Molt l'ama puis Kallm. au vis fier  
Et l'adouba et le fist chevalier  
Et en bataille en fist gonfanonier;  
Puis li aida maint castel a bruisier.  
Molt fu Ogier et preudons et entier  
Et quant venoit a sez armez baillier  
Il n'estoit homme qui le feist plessier.  
Ainc veve fame ne vout-il plaidoyer,  
Lor escu fu quant en orent mestier;

As orphelins vouloit tous jours aidier.  
 Que vous diroie? Trop fu preudons Ogier,  
 Molt ama Dieu qui tout a a jugier,  
 Bien servi Kall. o fer et a l'achier.  
 Au desraain en ot mauvez louier  
 De son servise si com m'orrez nunchier  
 Se vous voulez entendre sans noisier,  
 Quar huimez weil ma canchon commencher.

Vv. 4318-4428 (BA) are condensed to 24 verses in MDP (M 104 d 34 ff., D 79 a 1 ff., P 32 d 24 ff.).

Instead of vv. 5661-3 (BA), MDP introduce an episode of 31 verses (M 109 b 3 ff., D 85 d 11ff., P 41 a 21 ff.).

For v. 6439 (BA), M (112 b 58 ff.) reads as follows:

“... Et au s. temple dedens Jerlm.  
 Servirai, Sire, pour le vostre quemant:  
 Guerrierai la sarrasine gent.”

DP read these two verses and add a third (D 90 d 13, P 47 c 13).

MDP read several hundred verses not found in BA and omit many verses printed in the edition from BA. Some of these verses omitted in MDP are: 1422-3, 1438, 1442, 1548, 1585, 1810-1, 1906, 2057, 2424, 2427, 2452-9, 2559, 2561, 2602, 2604, 2685, 2721, etc.

The variation of Y from X grows more and more marked from the beginning to the end of the poem. We have in X and Y two decidedly different versions of the original poem. I cite a few errors in X (BA) and a few in Y (MDP) which show the independence of the two versions: neither one is a copy of the other.

*Errors in X corrected from Y:*

In v. 512 change *vees* to *ou est*.

In v. 905 change *cent* (BA) to *rens*.

In v. 1055 change *caoir* (BA) to *seoir*.

Before v. 1974 supply this verse from Y:

Et Kallot point, fier s'en l'eaue courant.

Vv. 3064-5 are absurd. They are to be corrected from the text of Y:

“... Lui et s'amie qui tant a le vis cler  
Donnasse Romme et la terre a garder.”

V. 4074 should read:

Car c'est li hom que il plus *avoit chier*.

After v. 6692 supply this verse from Y:

S'ara Ogier fet traire a mal destin

(cf. vv. 7233-4, 7559-60, 8115-6, etc.).

In v. 8285 change *estables* to *entailles*.

*Errors in Y:*

Vv. 2452-9 are omitted in MD (P has a variant for this tirade). V. 2460, coming abruptly after v. 2451, is senseless, and the passage following has no meaning.

V. 4117 reads as follows in MDP:

“... Si fu ton pere,” dist-il au due Ogier.

The verses following are accordingly addressed to Ogier instead of to Desiderius, and confusion results.

V. 4275, necessary for the sense of the passage, is omitted in MDP.

In v. 7954, MDP wrongly read *Kallon* for *Raimbaut*. Charles comes up at v. 7970.

In v. 10281, AMD (A is in this part of the poem a Y ms., see § iv; P. has a variant for this passage) read

*naie* for *obscure*. *Naie* is doubtless a corruption (assonance in *-u-e*) for *mue*. MD read for v. 10362:

Ou il cachoit aval la chartre mue.

No one of the existing mss. is a copy of any other. Fundamental differences throughout the poem or date of execution preclude all possibilities except that A may be a copy of B and P of D. That these possibilities are not facts is shown by errors in B not shared by A and by errors in D not found in P.

*Errors in B not found in A:*

In v. 853 change *Rosne* to *Toivre* (AY).

In v. 1344 change *l'Ardenois* to *le Danois* (AY).

In v. 2730 the name of Brunamont's sword is given: *Nabugodonosor* (AY); the name is not mentioned elsewhere in the poem.

Many verses omitted in B are found in AY: vv. 230-2, 335, 1195, 2851-2, 2866, 3091, 3112, 3188-3217 (30 verses: probably one column of B's original), 3282, 3916, etc.

*Errors in D not found in P:*

In v. 7, D has *Paris* instead of *Saint-Omer* (BMP).

The mother of Baudouin, according to D (55 b 20), is *Beuseline*. P has correctly *Beatris* in this passage (1 c 12) and again at 1 d 25. In v. 8817, all mss., including D, have *Beatris*.

In v. 1894, D reads:

“... Faus fu ses peres quant l'envia de cha . . .”

P has the reading of AM.

D ends v. 5541 with: “si est revigoures.” P has the reading of BM.

For v. 9817 P has the reading of AM. D stupidly reads:

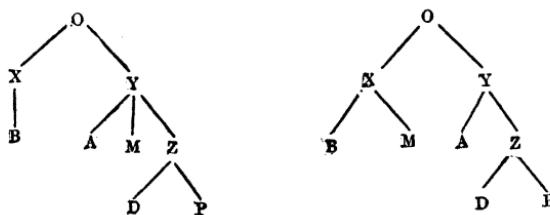
Icil avoit .iii. nes et .iii. dromons.

Many verses omitted in D are found in BAMP: vv. 1791, 2077, 2219, 2229, 2245, 2627, 3251, 5492, 6465-6, etc.

#### IV.

The classification studied above is exact for all parts of the poem with two exceptions: from v. 9276 to the end A belongs to the Y group; in vv. 12185-12952, M has shifted to the X group. The grouping is to be altered as follows:

(For vv. 9276-12184:) (For vv. 12185-12952:)



With the omission of v. 9276 by AMDP begins the agreement of A with MDP. Barrois has printed almost all the variants of A. With trifling exceptions, MDP offer in all these cases the readings of A, while B stands alone. For a few of the longer variants of AMDP from B, see the following foot-notes in the edition: p. 389 N. 1 (19 vv.), p. 392, N. 1 (32 vv.), p. 400, N. 1 (128 vv.), p. 411, N. 3 (11 vv.), p. 432, N. 3 (19 vv.), p. 440, N. 1 (35 vv.), p. 456, N. 1 (33 vv.), p. 465, N. 1 (86 vv.).

The scribe of **M** has changed mss. at v. 12184; v. 12183, omitted in **B**, is read in **AMDP**; v. 12185, read in **ADP**, is omitted in **BM**. From this point to v. 12952 all the verses which Barrois has printed from **A** are lacking in **M**. Wherever Barrois has indicated a variation of **A** from **B**, **M** stands with **B**. At v. 12952 the accord of **B** and **M** ceases, and the scribe of **M** continues the poem after his own fancy. That he does not return to a ms. of the **Y** group can be ascertained by a comparison with **P**, the only remaining ms. of this group, **A** and **D** being acaudate.

Against the almost absolute identity of **M** and **B** in vv. 12185-12952 stand about a dozen cases in which **M** agrees with **ADP** in opposition to **B**. These few cases suffice to prove that **M** was not copied from **B** but goes back independently to **X**. The following almost exhaust the list of variations of **M** from **B** in these verses:

The following verses, omitted in **B**, are found in **MADP**: p. 515, N. 6, p. 518, N. 1-v. 2, p. 518, N. 6, p. 527, N. 2-v. 2, p. 543, N. 1.

Vv. 12353, 12710 are omitted in **MADP**.

**M** has the reading of **ADP** in the following verses: vv. 12473 (**B** has *un* for *quatre*), 12532, 12693, 12711.

## V.

Raimbert de Paris, to whom the poem here studied has been generally attributed, was probably the author of **Z**. Throughout the entire poem **D** and **P** stand more or less apart from the other mss. But the beginning (about 1370 verses) represents what the author of **Z** certainly intended to make an entirely new version of the story. The variation of **DP** from **BAM** in this part of the poem is so considerable that if the author had continued his work,

D and P would probably never have been considered to contain the same version of the poem as BAM. But at v. 1370, approximately, the author of Z tired of his task and was content with simply copying the rest of the poem. The gradual approach of DP to the other mss. is proof that there was not a change of mss.: the scribe of Z did not copy the beginning from one ms. and the rest of the poem from another. The author of Z names himself "Raimbert de Paris" in the fourth line of his version: Barrois prints the first few verses of D (p. xliv). That the author of Z used a Y ms. as the basis of his uncompleted "remaniement" has already been shown (§ III).

## VI.

In the preparation of a critical text, the version of X is to be preferred to that of Y. Could two versions be placed side by side, it would be immediately manifest that in numberless passages X preserves the simplicity of the old poem, whereas Y amplifies the text beyond reason. Y has also an unhappy propensity to tamper with the assonances, sometimes substituting rimes in whole tirades. A striking example of Y's treatment of the assonance vowels is found in vv. 11381-11404. In this tirade B has a feminine assonance in *-a*. Y, unable to accept such assonances as *armes-faire* (*i. e.*, *-a-e*, *-ai-e*), has altered the text so as to suppress all words in *-a-e* and has, furthermore, by suppressing such words as *laische* reduced the tirade to a rime in *-ère*.

B has been recognized by all who have discussed the relative value of our mss. as the one which retains most traces of the original song (*e. g.*, P. Meyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-86). To control B, we must use A for vv. 1-9275 and M

for vv. 12185-12952. The agreement of A, in vv. 1-9275, or M, in vv. 12185-12952, with Y will be sufficient to overbalance the authority of B. For these verses we can arrive at a fairly satisfactory text. But in vv. 9276-12184 B unhappily stands alone. In vv. 12952 to the end, P affords very little help, M is practically useless, AD show lacunæ.

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